

Message Text

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17

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01

TRSE-00 EB-11 INT-08 FEA-02 DRC-01 /152 W

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O P 211005Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1205

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

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GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC, NATO, GW
SUBJECT: U.S.-EUROPEAN RELATIONS: FURTHER FRG PRESS
REACTION TO PRESIDENT'S CHICAGO REMARKS

REF: (A) BONN 4331, (B) BONN 4258, (C) BONN 4216

BEGIN SUMMARY; MARCH 20 GERMAN PAPERS CONTINUE FAIRLY SHARP CRITIQUE OF PRESIDENT'S CHICAGO REMARKS; HOUSTON STATEMENT CAME TOO LATE FOR INCLUSION SEVERAL PAPERS CARRY FRONT-PAGE PHOTO OF SMILING KISSINGER-SCHMIDT, AND QUOTE BOTH SCHMIDT'S COMMENT THAT ATLANTIC DIFFERENCES "NOT TOO TRAGIC" AND VEST'S REMARK THAT THE TWO MEN MET IN SPIRIT OF "OLD FRIENDS." PRESS AND RADIO REPORT THAT SCHMIDT AND TREASURY SECRETARY SHULTZ REACHED "BASIC AGREEMENT" ON THE EXTENT OF A NEW U.S.-GERMAN OFFSET AGREEMENT. MAIN EDITORIAL COMMENTS REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY

1. LEADING EDITORIAL BY RUDOLF HEIZLER IN PRO-CDU BONNER RUNDSCHAU SAYS U.S.-EUROPEAN TENSION IS A BASIC ELEMENT OF THE U.S. AND SOVIET WISH FOR A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SHOWDOWN WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE ALLIES. HEIZLER SAYS WASHINGTON IS LOSING NO OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW EUROPE THAT IT CAN EXPECT RESISTENCE IF IT TRIES TO BECOME A THIRD FORCE BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER-POWERS. BOTH WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW WANT TO "CONSOLIDATE THEIR EARNINGS," GEOGRAPHICALLY SPEAKING, CLEAR UP "GRAY AREAS ON THE MAP," AND DRAW CLEARER LINES TO MARK OFF WHERE EACH SIDE HAS A SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AND WHERE NOT. ACCORDING TO HEIZLER: "WE EUROPEANS KEEP UNDERESTIMATING THE PEALS OF THUNDER ROLLING OUR WAY FROM THE U.S. IT MEANS MORE THAN WE THINK. AMERICA IS NOT MERELY GRIPING ABOUT FRENCH 'GO-IT-ALONE' POLICIES, NOR THE NINE'S HAVING TAKEN THEIR OWN MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE WITH THE OIL PRODUCERS NOR THE DIFFICULTIES AMERICA HAS IN TRADE WITH EUROPE. NIXON'S AND KISSINGER'S WORDS TO US WERE NOT A DIVERSIONARY TACTIC TO GET PEOPLE AT HOME TO FORGET DOMESTIC WOES THAT COULD BE WRAPPED UP IN THE SINGLE WORD WATERGATE. NOR IS THE MOTIVE POWER NIXON. IT IS KISSINGER. HE, NOT THE

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PRESIDENT, MAKES THE FOREIGN POLICY. HE, NOT THE PRESIDENT, ENJOYS TRUST IN CONGRESS BECAUSE OF THIS POLICY..." RATHER, OBSERVES HEIZLER, "KISSINGER WANTS ACTION TO CONSOLIDATE THE AREAS: THE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OF THE TWO SUPER-POWERS. THE GRAY ZONES, AS HE SEES IT SHOULD VANISH, SINCE THE U.S. IS OUT TO TAKE OVER, IN FULL ONCE MORE, ITS LEADING POSITION IN THE WESTERN WORLD AND TO MAKE COMPLETE USE OF THAT POSITION

AS IT DID IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONTROVERSY...THE FIRST
ATTEMPT TO TIE THE EUROPEANS FAST TO THE UNITED STATES
WAS THE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE. THE MAIN POINT
THERE WAS NOT ENERGY, WHICH WAS ONLY A MEANS TO AN
END--I.E., EUROPE IS NOT SUPPOSED TO BECOME A THIRD
FORCE. THE U.S. WANTS THE WESTERN WORLD'S LEADERSHIP,
AND AS PART OF IT, LEADERSHIP IN EUROPE. WASHINGTON IS

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03

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O P 211005Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1206

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
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OUT, EXACTLY AS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT, TO BE FIRST AMONG EQUALS, AND THEN TO CO-DETERMINE. SINCE THE ENERGY CONFERENCE DID NOT DELIVER THE WISHED-FOR RESULTS, WASHINGTON NOW IS APPLYING EVERY PRESSURE IT CAN TO HOLD IN FRONT OF THE EUROPEANS' NOSES THEIR SECOND-RANK ROLE. AMONG THESE PRESSURES, TWO ARE THE THREATS TO TAKE AWAY THE ATOMIC UMBRELLA AND TO WITHDRAW A PART OF THE U.S. FORCES FROM EUROPE. KISSINGER WANTS TO LOSE NO MORE TIME." HEIZLER CONCLUDES THAT AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE ANY MORE TIME AS "THE SOVIETS ARE ACTING THE SAME WAY". MOSCOW TOO "IS SEEKING A CONSOLIDATION IN ITS SPHERE. THE MILITARY MANEUVERS IN THE EAST BLOC TERRITORY ARE ONE SIGN OF THIS. WHAT IS GOING ON NOW IS NOT A MARCH-UP OF THE TWO BLOCS TOWARDS A HUGE CONTROVERSY. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE WILL BE NO WAR. THE CONTROVERSY IS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL..."

2. THE SPD WEEKLY VORWAERTS CARRIES A FRONT PAGE LEAD EDITORIAL BY FRIED WESEMANN, ENTITLED "NIXON'S ULTIMATUM TO EUROPE". WESEMANN ASSERTS THAT "NIXON'S ULTIMATUM SURELY WILL BRING A BACKLASH AGAINST THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF....THE UTTERANCE ABOUT CONFRONTATION OR EVEN HOSTILITY ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FRONT IS A HARSH REMARK JUST BECAUSE IT CANNOT BE DOCUMENTED. THIS SAME NIXON WHO GOT HIS SECRETARY OF STATE TO APOLOGIZE FOR SOME UNCONTROLLED WORDS TO THE EUROPEANS, NOW HAS--THANKS TO HIS OWN WELL-THOUGHT-OUT REMARKS--SHARPENED THE CONFLICT." TURNING TO PRESIDENT'S MOTIVES, WESEMANN ASKS: "DOES HE WANT TO PLAY THE STRONG MAN TO COVER UP HIS WEAK POSITION? HAS HE ALREADY SURRENDERED TO CONGRESS IN THE FIGHT ABOUT TROOP REDUCTIONS? OR IS THE THREAT MEANT AS AN HONEST EFFORT TO FURTHER ADVANCE A GAULLIST CONCEPT OF A EUROPE OF FATHERLANDS?..." WESEMANN CONTINUES: "THE THANKS THAT NIXON MORALIZINGLY DEMANDS FOR U.S. AID TO EUROPE IN THE POSTWAR ERA IS BEING PAID OFF BY THE EUROPEANS BY WHAT THEY ARE CONTRIBUTING TODAY FOR THEIR OWN SECURITY--AND THEREFORE ALSO THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES....IN BONN,

GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN PRESSING SO HARD AND SO LONG FOR
A TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL
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PROBLEMS THAT THE AMERICAN CALL FOR THE SAME SORT OF
DIALOGUE IS ALREADY RECOGNIZED AND ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE
ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC. THE FAIR CHANCE THAT
NIXON ASKS FOR U.S. BUSINESSMEN IN EUROPE IS COUNTERED
BY THE SAME WISH ON THE PART OF THE EUROPEANS--AND THUS
THE GERMANS INCLUDED--FOR SIMILAR CONSIDERATION FOR
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTERESTS ABROAD..." WESEMANN
CONCLUDES: "IF WASHINGTON INSISTS ON SAYING THAT THE
TOOTHLESS OFFER OF THE NINE TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE
ARABS WAS TREASON TO THE WHOLE ATLANTIC GAME PLAN, THEN
THAT COMPLAINT SHOWS ITSELF GROUNDLESS BY AMOUNTING TO
HIS IMPLIED CONFESSION OF HIS OWN DIPLOMATIC BANKRUPTCY.
EVEN THE APPROACH TO A COMMON EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY
THEN WOULD BE DISCREDITED, AND THE FRENCH HELPED TO AN
UNEARNED VICTORY. CAN THAT BE WHAT IS WANTED? IF SO,
THEN IT CAN HAPPEN ONLY IN A COUNTRY THAT USED TO LIKE
TO LET ITSELF BE KNOWN AS THE LAND OF UNLIMITED
OPPORTUNITIES..."

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O P 211005Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1207
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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3. WRITING IN THE STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG (FROM WASHINGTON),
JUERGEN KRAMER DISPARAGES BOTH THE AMERICAN "APOCALYPTIC
NIGHTMARES OF COLLAPSE OF THE WESTERN SECURITY ALLIANCE
AS WELL AS THE FRIVOLOUS FRENCH DOWNPLAYING OF SERIOUS
ATLANTIC STRAINS." KRAMER BERATES THE PRESIDENT AND
SECRETARY FOR ALLEGED LUKEWARM SUPPORT OF THE EC AND
FOR "FAILURE OF WASHINGTON TO ACT IN REAL PARTNERSHIP."
HE CONTINUES: "EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE
VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. ARE NOT IN LINE WITH EITHER THE VIEWS
OF NIXON AND KISSINGER NOR WITH THOSE PREVAILING IN
CONGRESS. NIXON CERTAINLY KNOWS THAT HIS SWEEPING
CHARGE ABOUT THE EUROPEANS GANGING UP AGAINST THE U.S.
IS NOT JUSTIFIED. KISSINGER PRESUMABLY ASSURED HELMUT
SCHMIDT THAT BONN NEED NOT CONSIDER ITSELF ADDRESSED.
HOWEVER, ANY ATTEMPT AT PLAYING THE EUROPEANS AGAINST
EACH OTHER WOULD HAVE EVEN WORSE CONSEQUENCES THAN
FRENCH INTRANSIGENCE HAS HAD FOR THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
THE CAUSE OF THE ALLIANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN SERVED ONLY IF
THE THUNDER OF CHICAGO CLEARED THE ATMOSPHERE. THE
QUESTION WHETHER NIXON WILL VISIT EUROPE IN APRIL OR

LATER IS NOT SO IMPORTANT."

4. DIE WELT REPORTED STATEMENTS BY STATE DEPARTMENT
SPOKESMAN VEST THAT SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF THE
CONSULTATION PROBLEM IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S FOREMOST
AIM IN CLARIFYING TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS. BY THIS
STATEMENT, DIE WELT SAID, THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR THE
FIRST TIME ESTABLISHED CLEAR PRIORITIES FOR U.S. POLICY
TOWARD EUROPE.
HILLENBRAND

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